

## TENSION AT BERKELEY —A GUARDIAN ANALYSIS

*Jottings  
on a  
revolution  
—Page 2*

*AN  
UNHAPPY  
LONER  
—Page 3*

*Reaction  
in the  
Capitol  
—Page 3*



What are the underlying causes of tension between students and the administration at the University of California at Berkeley? What can be done to remove them? Three pivotal figures—John Searle, special assistant to the chancellor on student relations; Charles Muscatine, professor of English and author of the noted Muscatine report on the 1964 Free Speech demonstrations; a prominent regent—and several professors were questioned by The Guardian staff. Roger B. Henkle, who wrote The Guardian report, is a teaching assistant in English at Stanford University.

## The pattern of confrontation—

By Roger B. Henkle  
“We must get out of the confrontation pattern at Berkeley,” Prof. Charles Muscatine told The Guardian.

He proposed, among other things, that University of California students be allowed to set their own rules governing political activity, social regulations and student freedom.

Muscatine admitted that his proposal was, “right now, a radical one,” but he saw it as the only way to counteract steadily mounting alienation of many students from the faculty and the university administration.

John Searle, special assistant to the chancellor on student relations, agreed with Muscatine that more student latitude was the ultimate way to peace on the Berkeley campus, but he saw it only as a remote possibility. “The mistrust is going to last for a long time; in fact, it’s spreading,” he said. The students now mistrust the faculty.”

An influential regent who requested anonymity was even pessimistic. The regents, he asserted, took a “very cold view” of the latest Berkeley demonstration, and he predicted that broader rule-making power for students would be a “tough one to get through” the board.

AS A PRACTICAL MATTER,

however, the faculty and the chancellor already have been delegated authority to relax rules for student social and political activities, and they can permit a much greater student voice in setting regulations, the regent said. But he doubted that a responsible, effective student rule-making body could emerge at Berkeley at the present time. He intimated the regents would bristle at complete social hegemony for students.

The problem, as these men saw it, is twofold. First, a “confrontation mentality” prevails among the most articulate and powerful student leaders. Searle

—Continued on Page 2

### ON INSIDE PAGES

Hiram Johnson Letters, Part II	6
Isolationism Revisited by Prof. Shover	7
Prof. Kenneth Stewart on Berkeley	3
Poetry by David Levin	9
Brown’s last reflections	4
Unruh’s new role	3
’Tis the season	8

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## GUARDIAN

If anyone doubted that the Leslie/State Lands Commission swap was more than a giveaway in the grand tradition, he has only to read the transcript of the Dec. 8 hearing on the swap before the commission in San Mateo. The problem is, of course, that the transcript is available only in commission offices in Los Angeles and Sacramento. This was the first thing wrong with the swap and the commission.

It was also almost impossible to get details on the swap, to get the appraiser’s report, to get the metes and bounds descriptions of the parcels, to get information of any kind.

## Pressure likely to kill Leslie land swap

By Bruce Brugmann

A giveaway of hundreds of acres of South Bay slough lands to the Leslie Salt Co. has been held up by strong conservation pressure and it is now likely, as a result, that the proposal will never be approved by the State Lands Commission.

The Guardian disclosed the proposed giveaway in its Oct. 27 issue, prompting considerable newspaper publicity, a San Mateo County grand jury resolution, a conservation offensive and a public hearing by the lands commission. The proposal had been scheduled for quiet approval by the commission last month after the election.

AN INDEPENDENT Guardian investigation, later backed up by conservation evidence presented at the hearing, shook down to this: Leslie, largest owner of San Francisco baylands with 53,000 acres, would get title to 458 acres of choice “non-navigable” slough land that would facilitate its South Bay development.

The state would get 1,551 acres of navigable sloughs which it has always owned. Leslie gets title to its portion because the sloughs, once navigable and in the public trust, were made non-navigable by filling or diking by Leslie or other parties.

Thus, conservationist after conservationist said at the hearing,

the state gets nothing and Leslie gets everything in the transaction.

And what Leslie gets, they con-

—Continued on Page 2



## Outsiders get the message: move out

By Michael Palmer

They may be giving the non-student more credit than is due, but a number of U.C. officials and Berkeley civic leaders believe most of their protest problems would end if the outside agitators could—somehow—be eased out of the campus area.

In a private talk last summer, Berkeley Chancellor Roger Heyns told me he would be happy if the malcontents in the campus vicinity would "go back to North Beach or wherever else they came from."

Heyns was banking, then, on the rejuvenating effects of an urban renewal plan being considered by the Berkeley City Council.

**THE PROPOSAL** would have used federal funds for reconstruction and rehabilitation in the area south of the campus bisected by Telegraph Avenue. There, small shops and restaurants serve as headquarters for hippies, agitators and bohemians as well as students.

Urban renewal would have forced landlords to make improvements and hence raise rents, thus causing hard-up non-stu-

Palmer is former editor of The Berkeley Citizen and now a reporter on the Redwood City Tribune.

dents to seek shelter elsewhere. Unfortunately, the rent increase would also have caused problems for bona fide students.

Eventually, the plan was turned down by the City Council because some building owners would have been forced, by renewal laws, to spend hundreds of thousands for earthquake-proofing.

Since then the city has been forced to work against the non-student deviously, while the university's most potent weapon has been the Mulford Act. Passed by the State Legislature in 1965, it requires any non-student to leave the campus if ordered off by university officials, under penalty of arrest.

The more conservative Telegraph Avenue merchants have several times announced a "clean-up" campaign intended in some mysterious way to make the street so pleasant that agitators would leave. So far nothing seems cleaner than normal.

**AN "INTENSIVE enforcement"** drive by Berkeley police on Telegraph Avenue, in effect since last spring, brought scores of south campus residents to city council meetings. They complained that the police were being noticeably selective in issuing citations for jaywalking and stopping people for questioning. But the council, impassive, unanimously rejected charges of harassment of non-conformists.

In August, Mayor Wallace Johnson urged the city council to push stringent enforcement of housing code laws specifying how many people can live in a dwelling. He noted that many of the south campus residents crowd into houses to save rent. The council, eyeing an election battle next April with the Community for New Politics (which grew out of the Scheer for Congress organization), took no official stand supporting the mayor. It passed the issue to the city manager to determine if the city had manpower enough to enforce the code.

## Jottings on a revolution...

By Peter Benjaminson

(Benjaminson, a member of the Senate of the Associated Students of the University of California, voted with the 9-8 majority when it first voted to uphold the student strike. He later voted with the minority when the senate decided to withdraw its endorsement of the eve of the regents' meeting. He covered the Free Speech uprising in 1964 for the Daily Californian and is now campus correspondent for Newsweek magazine.)

Like the FSM, the latest revolt was a lightning bolt which shot furiously through our routines. It left activist students disoriented within themselves but with a sense of community lacking since the 1964 uprising.

According to a teaching assistant negotiator, Chancellor Heyns, at one of his first meetings with strike representatives, said he would "accept no lawyers at these meetings—it's not in the spirit of the academic community." He also said he would sign no agreements.

Student Body President Dan McIntosh, speaking to the faculty: "We protest the police on campus. We protest the general state of non-community on campus; we protest the hostility, distrust and rampant disrespect which pollutes the university atmosphere; we protest the sickness pervading the university."

Prof Arthur Kip (chairman of the academic senate): "The student time scale is much different than ours. Most students have the highest motive—impatience."

A coed participant: "When the strike started, for the first time since I came here, I had a tremendous feeling of accomplishment, of getting somewhere."

Chancellor Roger Heyns: "Non-student activists are intent on controlling the university—they would not consider that its destruction. But they can destroy the university by their constant disruption of orderly processes."

Vice-Chancellor Earl F. Cheit, who called the police onto campus, tells Jack Weinberg at the first mass meeting that if there's a strike, "I may join you on the picket line." Come on Cheit, that kind of tokenism don't go anymore.

Nothing nauseates students more than the flamboyant use of the non-student issue by administrative spokesman. Nothing could be more antithetical to scholarly reasoning than to blame social unrest on the destructive greed of a discredited outside group rather than on the tensions within the system itself. What makes things worse is that so many non-students were students only yesterday—and were expelled by the chancellor for violating university rules they considered unconstitutional.

Blaming internal unrest on outside agitators sounds rather disgustingly old-hat in a student community already so sickened by similar charges laid against North Vietnamese agitators by a higher, more powerful administration.

## Let students set their rules, says Muscatine

Continued from Page 1—

described it as a "kind of nihilism."

He acknowledged that the chancellor's office had dodged confrontations all year, but yet had inadvertently allowed itself to get into "an adversary stance." Regents, for their part, also feel that the organizers of the latest Berkeley crisis "were looking for confrontation" with the administration, "and they got it and are going to get it." And it is now impossible, Searle said, to find less antagonistic student leaders who have influence and have the respect of militant, dissatisfied students. There is simply no group to begin negotiating with, he said.

Second, the concept of the university must be revised. The university, as it exists at Berkeley, is a "mechanism structured in the nineteenth century," Muscatine said, "which was not fashioned to deal with student social problems." Its organization was designed to satisfy professional needs of professors. It was assumed that students were too immature to set their own social and political regulations. But students who attend Berkeley are "no longer 'kids,'" Muscatine emphasized, and you cannot expect them to behave when they cannot take part in setting their standards of behavior.

**STUDENTS** now have limited control over their social and political rules. But they have little respect for student leaders in power, and mechanisms for student government and discipline are badly splintered. Three student judicial committees, for example, rule on student conduct, none with significant power or influence.

Jurisdiction of these committees, Searle emphasized, should be expanded, and more "buffer machinery" established between students and the administration.

"Disciplining should not be done by the Chancellor's office," he said. Much of the hostility toward the administration he attributed to the fact that many disciplinary problems rise immediately to the top—the chancellor's office—for determination.

Muscatine supports a joint faculty-student rule-making commission, with a strong voice for students. The resolution adopted by the Berkeley faculty senate, asking its policy committee to form such a joint commission, is a step forward, but Muscatine feels that neither students nor faculty members contemplate a role for students as large as Mus-

catine anticipates will be needed to break down the students' antagonism.

**ALL THE** professors interviewed were surprised, incidentally, by the modesty of demands by striking students for more control over their own affairs and dismayed at what they considered "tangential" issues—the use of outside police, the refusal of the administration to use its influence to get civil charges dropped against arrested demonstrators.

The source of these "tangential" demands was the "non-students" who joined and, in many ways, organized the uprising. But no professors interviewed were greatly concerned about their influence at the university.

"We will always have closed-minded extremists and non-students attempting to manipulate student opinion," Muscatine observed, but the university should not be greatly concerned about them. "What impresses me is their capacity to raise a crowd of the size they did. It proves that the crowd was responding to something beyond the immediate situation." Searle agreed that eliminating non-students would "only scratch the surface of deeper discontent."

**NOR DID** the interviewers believe that the election of Ronald Reagan as governor intensified student resentment. "Reagan's election has, of course, made more shrill the left-wing voices," one said. Searle did acknowledge, however, that he senses "great tension between Berkeley and the state," which Reagan's election exemplified and which the students surely must feel.

Since Searle predicted more uprisings stemming from basic student unrest, the option to increase the tension—although Searle did not say so—will essentially rest with Reagan. Tension between the state and Berkeley is reflected in the response by regents to the strike: "we were shocked by the whole thing." The confusion and resentment of the Board is revealed in its steely determination to yield no further.

All the interviewees criticized the California faculty for refusing to take larger part in moves

to reduce student-administration animosity. "The faculty is the neglected culprit here," Muscatine said.

Administrators became the "ruling body" at Berkeley because the faculty too rarely concerns itself with student problems—especially social ones—and acts only in response to crisis. A professor—neither Muscatine nor Searle—said during the heart of the crisis that he felt he was "fighting for his life." The impression of many students, however, is that many professors are interested only in preserving their own peace.

SEARLE DID not think the

university was fighting for its life. Rather, he expressed surprise at the lack of organization among students and noted that the agitation died out quickly. This observation would seem to support the theory that students were less interested in immediate issues—except for a confrontation; response was more symptomatic of a continuing resentment against the administration.

All those interviewed by The Guardian cited the Viet Nam war as a major source of student unrest. This problem, of course, neither faculty nor regents can deal with, and it may be with them for a long time.

## Leslie land swap pressure

Continued from Page 1—

tended, could set a dangerous precedent for clearing title to other critical baylands (notably those of the Ideal Cement Co. in prospect for development by the Rockefeller combine), open the baylands to a torrent of building and imperil the ecology and character of the south bay.

Leslie officials haven't replied publicly to charges of slough filling (although aerial photos show unmistakably that someone has been filling), but they denied, in a letter to stockholders and at the hearing, that there was any defect to their titles. Sheldon Allen, Leslie president, also told the commission that the public would now have more access to sloughs and that this "amply justifies consummation of the transaction."

**THE MOST** damaging evidence to Leslie's case was presented by Paul N. McCloskey, Palo Alto attorney representing the Redwood City Civic Association, Redwood City's fiery conservation group.

McCloskey argued, in effect, that the swap was illegal because the land to be exchanged by Leslie was not, as the state constitution requires, of equal value. His reasoning: the state's attorney maintains that the state has always owned the navigable sloughs, but that it is possible Leslie has title to land under

the water subject to perpetual easements of the people for fishing, navigation and commerce. However, state law says that land under an easement is of nominal value, meaning that the most Leslie could own in the land is fee interest, or virtually nothing.

How then can Leslie give up land—which it may not own and which isn't worth much if it does—to the state in return for choice land "of equal value?" McCloskey asked.

His clincher: the appraiser said nothing about the easement and valued Leslie's holdings at \$2,369,750, as if the company owned everything free and clear.

**LESLIE'S** slough filling, he said, constitutes "an intrusion" on public rights and he requested Keith Sorenson, San Mateo County district attorney, to remove Leslie as "an intruder." He based his request on Public Resources Code Section 7992, which reads:

"If any person under any claim inconsistent with the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the state intrudes upon any of the waste or ungranted lands of the state, the district attorney of the county shall immediately report the intrusion to the governor, who shall thereupon, by a written order, direct the sheriff of the county to remove the intruder."

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Happy New Year  
From...



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# 'I rise an unhappy loner...'

By Kenneth Stewart

Professor of Journalism at the University of California and former editor and reporter for PM, a New York tabloid in the 1940s.

I rise as an unhappy loner. I have not been privy to consultations leading up to this afternoon's developments. Since I can't conjure up any constructive procedure, I have no wish to muddy the waters further. However, I came to this meeting prepared to exert my ounce of weight on the side of what seemed to me logical student misgivings.

A SILLY accident kept me away from Friday afternoon's faculty meeting—I was just as glad not to be exposed to the same old story all over again. But Friday evening I did respond to a call to go to California Hall for a gathering of student residence representatives, faculty fellows and an administration spokesman. What impressed me most at the meeting, presumably an unpacked cross-section, was the rapport among the students who spoke, so articulately, so reasonably, so calmly, with such dignity, and, yes, decorum. I was proud to identify with them. In the modern idiom, the meeting was neither a "confrontation" nor a "dialogue," but it made a good deal of sense, even though the channels of communication were not always clear and it was quite obvious that most of the listeners



did not accept the administration's explanations.

Then, early Saturday afternoon, walking across the relatively quiet campus, I came upon a weird performance at Ludwig's fountain that all but turned me off [the students—Edit.]. A starchy-eyed lad, ludicrously gotten up, ostensibly turned on, was prancing around the rim of the fountain, waving his arms and spouting incoherently out of his expanded consciousness.

A few spectators lingered in embarrassed amusement. Some sneered and turned away. The committed continued their spirited conversations in little clusters and ignored the performance completely. While I stood watching and apparently looking worried, a bearded (repeat, bearded) bystander turned to me and said earnestly and courteously: "I don't know who you

EXCERPTED FROM A SPEECH PREPARED, BUT NOT DELIVERED, IN THE STUDENT STRIKE DEBATE BEFORE ACADEMIC SENATE

are, sir, but remember that there are 27,500 students here, and he is only one, if he is one."

Even so, the spectacle made the empathetic glow of the previous evening harder to recapture. I, too, get fed up with much that goes on around the Bancroft entrance. How we all wish that life here would be tidier! I can't stomach the exhibitionism and demagoguery much better than my grandmother would have.



OVER THE WEEKEND it became doubly apparent to me that the villains in the picture are not individual students nor individual administrators but only the institutional machinery of society and the human condition itself.

The target, as Fred Gardner in the Berkeley Gazette astutely observed, is "inflexible administrative bureaucracy" and the actual causes "lie deep within the fabric of American society, a society ever more shaped by what is happening in Vietnam."

In this situation, as before, I am convinced that the administration is hoist with its own petard, trapped by public pressure and enslaved by the public relations mystique and the "image" fetish. It can't retire strategically and gracefully to a previously prepared position. No one member can dishonor the word or act of another member. Each cog in the machine must mesh. There is, as has been noted, no room to maneuver and no stage for negotiation outside the glare of the spotlight. The bind is sure to get tighter.

ALL THIS leaves the faculty as the only relatively free agent in the picture. Of course, we'd all like to get back to our business without more interference from any direction, but how? Somebody called us "patsies" for giving in to the FSM two years ago. As for me, the question now is not so much "Am I a patsy" as it is "Whose patsy?"

Is it any the less "blackmail" if the threat comes from the seats of political power than if it comes from dissenters against the Establishment? I'm not willing to say "Yes, sir" to published warnings that, if any of us follows his judgment and conscience in the classroom relationship, he is therefore subject to instant dismissal or may jeopardize deserved salary increases for himself and his fellows. Is the prospect of spies in our corridors and static in Sacramento any more welcome than that of rebels on the campus or racket from Sproul steps?

THE FACULTY must protect administrators from the consequences of their own imperatives. If the faculty and students can't control the campus, then we're at the mercy of every south wind that blows. Anyway, the cowed, submissive, subdued, dispirited student body that some seem to want is not the university we have known and honored. I can't believe that the only alternative is chaos and anarchy. Do we have to become a Babbitt factory—and assembly line—to remove the stigma of being "the place where the action is?" I think it behooves the faculty to stand firm against all infringements on freedom—as it did in 1950, The Year of the Oath when the Great Stewart, George, rode out that storm—and again in 1964, when we survived and upheld Freedom of Speech. What we should ask ourselves now is:

Whence comes the storm? From what direction is the greatest wind blowing?

## Unruh—unlikely friend of academic freedom

By our political correspondent

SACRAMENTO—More than a year ago, when Assembly Speaker Jesse M. Unruh announced formation of a joint legislative committee to review higher education in California, there was great gnashing of teeth in the state's educational community.

Unruh's action came as a result of the free speech uprising at the University of California at Berkeley and was viewed by many academicians as a threat to the university's freedom from political interference.

Unruh did little at the time to dispel speculation that the investigation would eventually end up in an attempt to impose harsh new restrictions on student conduct at UC.

IN FACT, he seemingly made the threat implicit by deciding that he would share chairmanship of the committee with Senate President Pro Tem Hugh M.

### DATELINE SACRAMENTO

Burns, a Fresno Democrat who is about as liberal as George Wallace. Another Burns' committee—the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities—had just painted Clark Kerr and the university hierarchy with a red brush over the free speech uproar.

More of the same appeared assured from the new Unruh-Burns combination. The legislature promptly gave them \$100,000 for their committee.

Despite all such evidence, there is a growing suspicion today that Unruh's act was that of a friend of academic freedom. A look at the joint committee's record shows why:

- Despite plenty of funds—a situation that normally inspires fevered activity among legislators—the committee has met only twice.

- Both meetings, one with college administrators, the other with faculty groups, were held behind closed doors. Had Unruh

truly embarked on a legislative witchhunt, wouldn't he have used the open hearings favored by such groups as the House Un-American Activities Committee?

- After the meetings, neither administrators nor teachers were heard, publicly or privately, to express even mild criticism of the committee's methods or goals.

- Unruh held a Capitol news conference after talking to the faculty representatives and pledged that the committee would not make student conduct its principal target.

It would rather, he said, attempt to locate the "root causes" of the unrest. After all, he remarked, unrest was not confined to campuses—it was a significant part "of life all over the world at this specific time in history."

When the most recent student revolt rocked the university, Unruh announced he was sending committee staffers to Berkeley to investigate. But again he emphasized that their purpose was to identify underlying causes, not to look for excuses to tighten regulations.

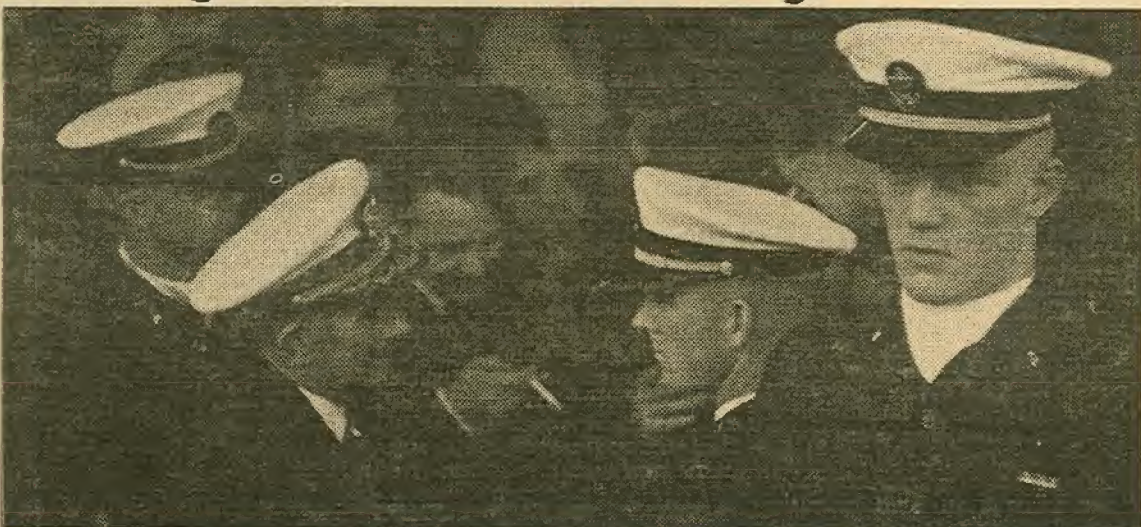
THE SPEAKER also has urged Governor-elect Reagan to drop his plans for an investigation of the university by a commission headed by former CIA Chief John McCone. The legislative committee suggested Unruh, would be happy to take over that task for Reagan.

It may be a difficult image to sustain, but Unruh is showing all the concern of a mother pheasant for her endangered brood by leading hunters off on a false trail.

At the same time, the totally political being that is the speaker knows that, as long as his secret remains undetected by conservatives, his committee work will win their praise. And, should the new student unrest sweep matters out of his control, Unruh simply could reverse his field and do what the educators expected in the first place.

## The changing of the guard at the recruiting table

An administrative concession to the students is symbolized here by the changing of the guard from three "non-students" (three regular Navy officers at the disputed recruiting table) to a naval ROTC student. Tables could be manned by non-students only if a student was in charge.





# Can we afford to lose Mrs. Nelson's seven snoopers?

By Richard Reinhardt  
(Reinhardt is a free lance writer who reports regularly on politics for Look, American Heritage and other publications. He is an associate editor of San Francisco magazine.)

Mrs. Helen Ewing Nelson, California's first consumer counsel, will also be its last if the current attitude of the incoming Reagan administration prevails. Mrs. Nelson never has been especially popular with Republican leaders. Certain businessmen regard her as a boat-rocker, a squealer and a snoop and their hostility has been pressed upon the Legislature by relentless lobbying to jettison her small bureau of investigators and advocates, who are part of the governor's administrative staff.

GOVERNOR-ELECT Reagan has refused to say up to this time whether he would keep or fire Mrs. Nelson, but he has expressed little enthusiasm for her work. During the gubernatorial campaign, he said her state bureau duplicated activities of federal agencies; after his election, he expressed general dissatisfaction with such "new" state agencies as the counsel's office and the coordinator of atomic energy development. Los Angeles papers reported that he met to chat about Mrs. Nelson with representatives of the food industry, whose dish of jello she definitely is not. The counsel's office was set up by Gov. Brown in the autumn of 1959 to act the part of a yappy dog in sniffing out sales frauds, deceitful packaging, usurious in-

terest charges, appliance repair rackets, short weights and other forms of rube-bilking, classic and modern, that occur in even the most respectable fields of business. DURING HER seven years in Sacramento, Mrs. Nelson has done much finger-pointing, not all of it effective, but much of it highly justified. Her most celebrated publication was a pamphlet called "Credit Costs Money—Know How Much It Costs You," which attempted to educate consumers to the true annual rate of interest on time purchases. Many credit agents took it as criticism of the going rates of interest, and a senior executive of one of the big San Francisco banks complained privately to the governor that Mrs. Nelson was making consumer credit seem "sinful." Less frightening to the monarchs of finance was Mrs. Nelson's system of policing television repair men. It requires that every service dealer give his customer a written statement of work that has been performed. To keep track of the dealers' performance, a complaint bureau places television sets with known defects in customers' homes, then checks back to see what various repair men charged to put the sets in working order. Mrs. Nelson drafted legislation to extend the same type of surveillance to other service businesses, including auto repair shops, but the bill bogged down last year in a committee of the Legislature.

IF THE REAGAN administra-

tion decides to amputate the consumer counsel, it undoubtedly will be on a plea of economy. Assemblyman Robert Monagan of Tracy, the articulate Republican minority leader of the lower house, has been scrubbing up for the operation. He cites the counsel's office as a case of bureaucratic edema—a minor bureau that started with a \$20,000 budget for one person's salary and now has grown to a \$250,000-a-year agency. Mrs. Nelson says Monagan's arithmetic is distorted. The counsel started with a \$65,000 budget, she says, and now spends \$100,000 a year for a staff of seven: herself, three clerks and three "professionals"—a legislative representative, an economic researcher and an information officer.

AN ADDITIONAL \$100,000 is budgeted for consumer advisers in state multi-service centers in poverty areas of Watts, Venice, Long Beach and East Los Angeles. "The Legislature was lobbied heavily against this office when it was established," Mrs. Nelson told the Guardian. "They've been lobbied ever since. This office saved the consumers of California \$2 for every penny it cost in taxes, and our budget from now to next June is a grand total of about 40 to 50 thousand dollars in a state budget of four billion. Still, everyone's coming around these days to tell us how much they'll miss us."

## INSIDE

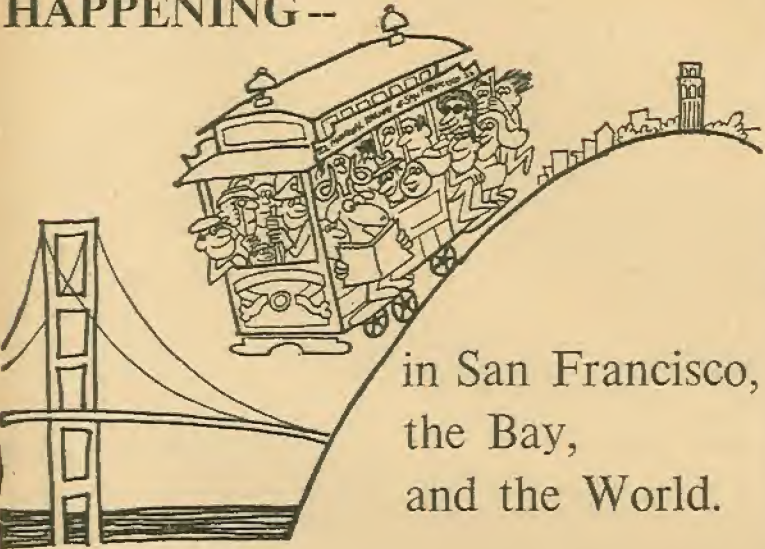
BRIEFS  
FROM HERE  
AND  
THERE

The San Francisco Chronicle is seeking to buy San Francisco magazine from John Viator, publisher. Viator isn't selling, at least at the moment. Speculation runs that the Republican Chronicle is annoyed at Democrat Viator, but the real reason is that the Chronicle frets about the mounting slice of class national advertising revenue that SF magazine and sister metropolitan magazines in Los Angeles, San Diego and Seattle, are cornering through an advertising combination. Incidental intelligence: for years, the Chronicle has refused, on threat of dismissal, to allow its reporters to free lance for SF magazine.

Randolph Collier, the State Senate's gift to the lumber and freeway interests, is first in line for Fred Farr's crucial conservation post as chairman of the Senate Committee on Natural Resources. Conservationists fear his appointment may foreshadow the Reagan administration's policy on conservation.

An "investigation" by the State Attorney General's office into the use of a district assessor in Redwood Shores in Redwood City has given the Leslie Salt Co., developers of the 4,600-acre project, considerable ammunition. The "investigation" didn't turn up much and Leslie can now claim that the use of a district assessor—the most controversial feature of reclamation districts at bayside—is fully justified. The district assessor, critics say, is the means by which Foster City and Redwood Shores can juggle their tax rates to keep assessment districts artificially viable. Nobody seems to know why the "investigation" petered out, but it is known that Leslie was told in advance there would be nothing stronger than a pro forma statement of criticism from the AG's office.

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# 'It was a big flop . . .'

By our  
political correspondent

SACRAMENTO—The bus rolled north, up the Santa Clara Valley, toward Hayward. Across the bay, peninsula foothills stood blackly against an orange sunset. And the man, closer to the end of the trail than he knew, chatted and reminisced with reporters.

It was the last evening of Gov. Brown's doomed candidacy for re-election. After a rousing reception at a Hayward union hall, he made a final appearance in Sacramento. By the same time 24 hours later, Brown's 23-year career in elective public office would be ended.

BUT THAT NIGHT on the bus he was still governor, still hoped for a third term, his thoughts on the future as well as the past.

He talked of 1968, and what he would face as governor if fellow Democrat Sam Yorty ran against Republican Thomas Kuchel for the U.S. Senate.

"That would be a tough one," he said. "I hope it never happens."

"I've always been a party man. And it would be hard to stop, even though Yorty hasn't done anything for me this time. He's hurt a lot of Democrats in the past. And Kuchel has been a good senator . . . maybe a great one. No one knows how closely we've worked together. I've always been able to talk things over with Kuchel. We haven't

always agreed, although mostly we have, but I've always gotten fair treatment, real consideration from him."

Brown admitted Yorty's failure to endorse him hurt. At the time he couldn't — even the pollsters couldn't — know how much.

ANOTHER WHOSE defection hurt, although far less, was Carmen Warschaw. The Democrats' longtime "Dragon Lady," miffed by what she felt was Brown's opposition to her candidacy for state Democratic chairman all but embraced the eventual winner, Ronald Reagan.

"She'll never believe me," Brown said sadly. "I know it and I'm sorry about it. But I simply couldn't control the convention. I did what I could for her, what I told her I'd do."

He talked about a Los Angeles rally that morning, at which Assembly Speaker Jesse M. Unruh faintly praised Brown while plugging his own achievements. Unruh "suddenly" realized, Brown quoted him as saying, that his great legislative ideas hadn't gotten off the ground until Brown became governor.

"He's still stranger to me, Jesse is," mused Brown. "Maybe we never really figured each other out. One thing, I don't think he ever believed I was as tough as I am. He always thought he could take advantage of softness in me. Maybe I should have done more to change his impression of me."

BROWN DIDN'T say he disliked Unruh, but added: "He's got something brutal about him. He doesn't just beat someone; he steps on them afterwards. I've always found that a little frightening."

(One newsman remembered that, two years before, the governor made an almost identical assessment of Robert F. Kennedy.)

Speaking of the campaign, Brown was cautiously hopeful. But he admitted his blunders.

"I let myself get talked into

the extremist issue. It was a big flop, that's all there is to it. I should have stressed my record and his inexperience. I should have made him carry the campaign to me."

Looking out the bus window and admiring the sunset, he talked of the rigors of the "insanity" of a nine-month campaign.

"It's unbelievably taxing, physically and financially. It's just too long to make sense."

Yet he said he enjoyed campaigning, "getting to see the people," although admitting his particular style might soon be outdated by the television era.

"I always feel that if I can talk to the people, shake hands and discuss issues and problems with them man-to-man, I'll get their vote. Lately, I've wished I was governor of a smaller state where that would be possible. These rallies, you know, they whip up enthusiasm, but you just can't get enough people at one time to make them effective," Brown said.

HE'D TRULY wanted a television debate with Reagan, he said, even though he was fearful of the actor's on-camera style. He felt he could have scored heavily on Reagan's inexperience if he had engaged him in free debate.

"I was a district attorney, you know," he reminded the reporters. "Maybe I could have caught him, shown him for what he is." He shook his head and continued:

"Really, it's exasperating to run against a man like this. He doesn't know anything. Every time he's forced into getting factual he shows his ignorance. The man doesn't know a damn thing but he's running for governor. Believe me, I find that frightening."

He claimed, however, to harbor no dislike of Reagan, nor of the two men he defeated, William Knowland and Richard M. Nixon. He did say he found Nixon "a little prissy, you know? I think he lost because he was condescending to the people."

Reassessing the June primaries, when his own organization had helped destroy George Christopher's chances against Reagan with severe attacks, Brown said he had some regrets.

"I THINK George may have been a little easier opponent. But that's not really it. I like George. I respect him. Hell, we grew up together. He's a fine man. He would make a good governor, a sound governor, I think. I don't think that for a minute about Reagan."

Of all the men he'd met in public life, said Brown, Earl Warren stood heads above the rest — John F. Kennedy included.

"He's not the smartest man in

the world, but he has such integrity. He's truly well-rounded, well-balanced. Tremendous honesty, integrity."

Pleading hoarseness, the governor started to break off the talk. But he paused to answer one more question. What, a newsman asked him, did he plan to do if he lost?

"I REALLY haven't thought a lot about it. You can't, you know. You've got to think like a winner or it shows. The people can sense defeat, smell it."

"But I guess it it does happen, I'd like to work for peace. I don't know how exactly, but try to end this Vietnam mess. I'm awfully worried about that. I've always been good at getting people together . . . like the farm workers and the growers last summer, you know?"

"I'd like to put that talent, if it is one, to work some way." Then, returning to the present, he added: "But don't count the old man out yet!"

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The Bay Guardian  
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PRIVATE VOICE OF

# HIRAM JOHNSON

Letters Edited for the Guardian by Hiram Johnson III

Aug. 2, 1917

"My Dear Jack, All of your news is now colored and nothing that you read about the war can be depended upon. This is admittedly so. The operation of the Allies, even the happenings at home involving the war, you may, in great degree, discredit. We are lying the world safe for democracy."

Sept. 2, 1917

"My Dear Jack, Fate plays queer pranks with us and this year has been fantastic not only with individuals but whole peoples—indeed with the very world. A few years ago, how we could have scouted our entrance into a foreign war. A few months ago it would have seemed insanity to suggest a draft in the Republic or an Army for invasion of Europe."

"The whole bloody murderous thing seems unreal, a frightful nightmare terrifying us when unconscious, but dispelled with waking."

(This letter written by hand on his 51st birthday to his son, Hiram Jr.) "We have days of depression and days of rejoicing here concerning the war. The fact is—nobody understands the real conditions nor can prognosticate when it will end. Some of us pray that it may come to a speedy termination before the spilling of the blood of our American boys. There is a large class, however, who are longing for casualty lists—this the military cult—in order that enthusiasm for the war may be aroused in our Nation. The cruelty of the suggestion I have raved against for some months past. I think it is the most barbarous and abominable thing I have ever heard."

Jan. 8, 1918

"My Dear Jack, After Lloyd George's speech on Saturday and the President's congratulatory message to him, the illogic of our position seems more marked than ever. Had I stood before the U.S. Senate when war was declared and said that we were sending our young men to Europe in Trieste, Trentino, to Italy, together with a couple of Grecian islands; that the best blood of America was to be spent in recovering for France, Alsace and Lorraine; ripping from Austria a national autonomy for a little group of unpronounceable—until this war, unheard of races, I would have been confined to an insane asylum or lashed with scorn from the Senate."

"The war aims of the United States of America have now been stated by the Premier of England, and those war aims are exactly what are suggested here. We seem to have forgotten making the world safe for democracy. I am very sorry because I did love the phrase."

\*\*\* (Handwritten postscript): "Since I dictated the above we have suddenly been called to listen to the President in a statement of our war aims. The general opinion is that George forestalled him last week and that, jealous of the prominence given to George's speech, he felt compelled to state war aims of all the Allies. Compare this with his declaration when asking war with Austria—that we sought not to take Austria's territory, etc. How long—Oh Lord, how long! They—those who care for me—tell me I am crazy to think of expressing views that are contrary now, and perhaps they are right. A night of reflection may make me calmer."

Jan. 12, 1918

To Mrs. Amy Johnson (Mrs. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.) "Uppermost in my mind of late has been peace, and the statement of the Allies' war aims. It was so diluted by the censors that it is only in little flashes here and there, and the inference drawn from instance that we are able to understand just what is passing in the world. \*\*\*

"We, as a Nation today, have become mentally inert, intellectually barren. Our thinking is done for us by the newspapers and by those in power; so, we accept what is told to us, partly because we fear to discuss, and partly because our intellects have been warped and distorted. \*\*\*

"The government of Lloyd George and the government of Woodrow Wilson are the antithesis of each other. George believes in taking his people into his confidence; and telling them what he intends and what he wishes; what reasons actuate their government; of frankly allowing blunders and endeavoring to point the remedies; and generally, to have free speech and a free press."

"The Wilsonian mode of government, under which we have been chafing for the past nine months, is aggression, repression, and oppression; to stifle any criticism; to denounce any individual who makes a legitimate, embarrassing inquiry, and in every fashion, to prevent and preclude free expression and fair discussion."

"What an amazing business this is! Every people on earth de-

July 2, 1917

"My dear boys, I have spent my mornings of late with the Commerce Committee, the only committee of which I am a member that has anything to do. I have before me now another Rivers and Harbors Bill, a great part of which is devoted, in my opinion, to pork. It is next to impossible to do anything because here is a page devoted to my own State—San Francisco and adjacent harbors, the sum of about \$1,000,000; a smaller sum for Los Angeles Harbor, another for San Diego Harbor, another amount for the Sacramento River, etc. If I attempted to kick over some of the Louisiana, Arkansas or Texas sums, I would have the projects of California, no matter how meritorious, eliminated from the bill—and then what a howl there would be."

"It is just this sort of thing that permits, year after year, enormous sums to be taken from the government and spent in different representative districts. Some day I hope to take hold of this subject and do what a real representative ought to do."

**'Wilson is continuing the war . . . to have history write him the greatest man of all time'**

sires peace, and yet, the rulers of these people continue the destruction, and the maiming and the killing. \*\*\* Here is an incident of how the war warps us, distorts our judgment, and disappoints justice, and our ideals. Admiral Bowles was testifying in executive session before our committee. He said that one of the great needs of our Navy was oil. He described the oil lands of Tampico, Mexico and then those that he asserted—that are—just south of Tampico, and he ended with the startling statement that we ought to take those oil lands.

"A couple of us sat up straight, in an instant, and asked, 'Take them—from a supposedly friendly power! Upon what ground?' And his response was, 'Upon the grounds of military necessity.' We replied, 'This was the responsibility when the crime of Belgium was committed.' Here was an Admiral of the Nation, just now crying out in horrifying accents at the ruthlessness of Germany in breaking its plighted faith, disregarding its solemn obligations as a mere scrap of paper, saying to us that we, in like fashion, with a weak neighbor, should take that neighbor's territory on the ground of military necessity!"

Jan. 19, 1918

"Mrs. Amy Johnson, Last week I wrote you something of my views of the peace program of the President. Notwithstanding the unanimity of sentiment which seems apparent in the press of the country, and the slobbering fulsome praise of Wilson, because of the expression of his war aims, I am confirmed in my original views. \*\*\*

"I will not at this time commit the Nation to a wholesale territorial aggrandizement and acquisition, and I will endeavor to ask, if we come to a debate upon the subject, whether the fathers and the mothers of America, whose sons are going across the water, wish them to fight for territorial conquest either for ourselves or our Allies. I will try to make an American speech."

"This is an American war entered upon righteously, because of specific wrongs inflicted upon us, and developing then into the necessity for the destruction of a militarism which menaced the world; but from our standpoint it has never been nor never can be a war of territorial conquest, or a conflict of rewriting European boundary lines."

Jan. 26, 1918

"Mrs. Amy Johnson, There is a solidarity about the Democratic Party that is somewhat like the racial entity of the Germans. What enables the Germans to do many things is the fact that they are a united people—not a polyglot nation like ours—and, as one race, they think and act."

"The difficulty with our war situation is that Wilson is living in the pages of history, utterly detached from passing events. He has taken us into the war with one thought, in my opinion, and he is continuing the war with one idea—to have history write him the greatest man of all time."

"Lincoln freed a small part of our population—and that black. Wilson sees himself written by history as the savior of mankind, and as a ruler who freed all nations, and established world democracy. He has no more conception of administrative duties than a man in Kamchatka or Timbuctoo; and he will not pay any attention to such duties. Nevertheless, he will permit no interference, & he resents any suggestions."

"I do not think it at all exaggerative to say that he regards himself exactly as Louis XIV regarded himself, and that while he doesn't say it aloud, to himself, he often repeats, 'I am the State.' Because I feel perfectly certain that Wilson is in this war that he may be in history, I feel that the conflict will be prolonged, and that it will not cease—no matter what may be the opportunities for ending it—until Mr. Wilson feels certain that history will write him, as he sees himself, and as he has designed that he shall go down to posterity. \*\*\*

"Roosevelt blew in, in his usual breezy fashion. I presume mother has written you of our luncheon with him the day he arrived, and my dinner at Lodge's the other night. He has his faults, and his foibles. He has, indeed, the many peculiarities and infirmities with which we have all become familiar, but, after all, my daughter, as I survey the men of the Nation, who constitute its great, he is head and shoulders above them all."

"No doubt that he is a candidate for President in 1920, but I am just as sure that he will not be elected President. I think that the big, financial interests of the East have now turned to him and they will be able, generally, to control or stand pat, brethren in his behalf. I do not think he will ever again get by with the common people."

Next: Johnson and the famous League of Nations fight.

## Isolationists--were they really so misguided?

By John L. Shover

**Isolationism in America, 1935 - 1941, by Manfred Jonas. Cornell University Press.**

Professor Jonas' contribution to historical scholarship vis-a-vis the isolationists repeats interpretations ensconced in standard texts since the 1940s. The isolationists, of whom Congressmen William E. Borah, Hiram Johnson, Burton Wheeler and Gerald P. Nye were the most prominent are viewed as sincere, misguided men intellectually rooted in America's placid pre-world-wide-responsibility days. They espoused (writes Jonas) an amoral international relations concept, arguing that nations war only for economic

and territorial gains and that, since the U. S. had no such ambitions, its proper policy was to insulate itself behind its impregnable boundaries.

Apparently, the author did not intend his book to raise perplexing questions: Was Rep. Louis Ludlow "immune to world events" when he warned in 1937 (p. 226) . . .

"The next war will be a war in which machinery will overshadow manpower, with airplanes raining poison and peoples fighting each other with weapons of wholesale massacre. No longer will active participation in wars be limited to combatant armies in the field. Henceforth whole populations will be involved. . . ."

Was the "new isolationist" Sen. Robert A. Taft misguided when he stated in the early fifties (279) . . . "I do not believe it is at all clear that the Russians contemplate a military conquest of the world. I believe they know it is impossible."?

I BELIEVE, the time has come for a critical re-evaluation of the isolationists. Somehow, when anti-Communism spells "morality" in foreign affairs, when a "responsible foreign policy" means napping Vietnamese villages and

John Shover is a professor of history at San Francisco State College and the author of "Cornbelt Rebellion," 232 pp., University of Illinois Press, \$5.95.

when our "One World" will not support revolutions the idealistic internationalists, slogans of the 1940s seem as hollow as the America-First clichés.

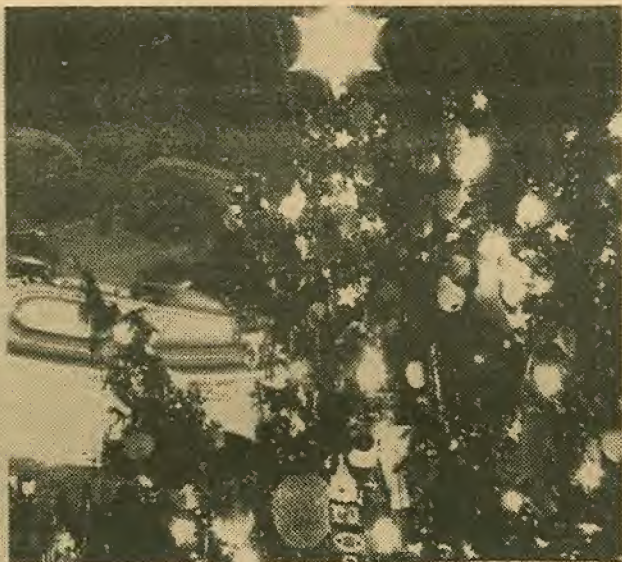
Mr. Jonas wisely cautions that the isolationists were a mixed group and generalizations about their beliefs are dangerous. Included were such disparate personalities as Borah, Johnson, Wheeler, George Norris and Gerald P. Nye; economic conservatives Robert A. Taft, Everett Dirksen, Hamilton Fish, Arthur Vandenberg and Joseph P. Kennedy, and socialist Norman Thomas. In the academic community Charles A. Beard, Robert M. Hutchins and John Bassett Moore were prominent spokesmen.

What motivated the isolationists? A black-white dichotomy between "internationalism" and "isolationism" is too simple. William A. Williams argues persuasively (The Tragedy of American Diplomacy, 1955) that American policy in the League of Nations debate and throughout the 1920s was not isolationist, since trade commitments were expanding and government-business cooperating to open new markets in Latin America and Asia. The responses of progressives like Borah and Johnson to the complex world events of the '20s and '30s rested on considerations more carefully developed and integrated than Prof. Jonas avows.

HIRAM JOHNSON was the major opponent in the senate of American intervention in Siberia in 1918-19 and persistently and effectively argued that the form of government established in Russia was not a proper concern of the United States. He joined with two other leading "isolationists," Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., and Borah to lead a campaign in the Senate for recognition of the Soviet Union on the grounds of Woodrow Wilson's principal of self-determination. After investi-

—Continued on Page 10





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## NEW ENGLAND

By E. A. Robinson

Here where the wind is always north-north-east  
And children learn to walk on frozen toes,  
Wonder begets an envy of all those  
Who boil elsewhere with such a lyric yeast  
Of love that you will hear them at a feast  
Where demons would appeal for some repose,  
Still clamoring where the chalice overflows  
And crying wildest who have drunk the least.  
Passion is here a soilure of the wits,  
We're told, and Love a cross for them to bear;  
Joy shivers in the corner where she knits  
And Conscience always has the rocking-chair,  
Cheerful as when she tortured into fits  
The first cat that was ever killed by Care.

## CALIFORNIA

By David Levin

(After Robinson's New England and after Reagan)

Here where the poor own heated swimming pools  
And children drive but never learn to walk,  
Comfort asks pity on those distant folk  
Whose offspring plod through snowdrifts to their  
schools—  
Whose summers steep them in a sweat that cools  
Only when awful thunderbolts provoke  
The sky to vicious rain and torrents soak  
The steaming fields, scattering hogs and mules.  
Here passion means devotion to the Flag,  
We're told, and Love a Hollywood affair;  
Joy rolls along the freeway in her Jag,  
And Conscience, analyzed, has dyed her hair,  
Studied her stars, and filled her lame bag  
With coupons from her latest millionaire.

# THE LANCE AND LYRE

**THE SEA AND THE HONEY-COMB**, edited by Robert Bly. Madison, Minn., The Sixties Press, 1966. 70 pp. \$2.00 cloth, \$1.00 paper.

**PAVANNE FOR A FADING MEMORY**, by William Pillin. Denver, Allan Swallow, 82 pp. Cloth, \$3.00.

**TO LIVE AND DIE IN DIXIE**, and Other Poems, by John Beecher. Birmingham, Alabama, Red Mountain Editions, 1966. 93 pp. Cloth, \$5.00; paper, \$2.00.

Stanley McNail

In "The Sea and the Honey-comb," Editor Robert Bly decries the example of Milton, who, he says, "has a huge hand beneath you," and turns instead to brief poems where "the poet takes the reader to the edge of a cliff, as a mother eagle takes its nestling, and then drops him." The reader must either learn to fly or be killed on the rocks below.

The collection ranges freely in time and geography, encompassing work by Al-Munafil, Guillaume Apollinaire, Werner Aspenstrom, Ibn Hazm, Lope de Vega, Antonio Machado, Stephan Mallarme, Salvatore Quasimodo and others. Most poems are not more than four lines, with haiku-like imagery, such as this one, by Juan Ramon Jimenez:

"Music!  
A naked woman  
running through the pure  
night!"

Excellent examples of brief precision have been culled even from the loose, loping rhetoric of Whitman, among them "The Runner":

"On a flat road runs the well-  
train'd runner,  
He is lean and sinewy with  
muscular legs,  
He is thinly clothed, he leans  
forward as he runs,  
With lightly closed fists and  
arms partially rais'd."

Throughout this collection, Bly, whose own translations are among the best, succeeds in sus-

taining that sense of discovery which is the genius of poetry. Both for poetry and creative editing, "The Sea and the Honey-comb" is uniquely satisfying.

There are poets who strike the lyre, as in Bly's book, and there are those who wield the lance against cruelty, ugliness and injustice. Among the latter is William Pillin of Los Angeles, whose "Pavanne for a Fading Memory" cries out for a rebirth of humane values, of concern for the outcast and rejected, now, when such attitudes seem in danger of being swallowed up in a rock-'n-roll din of banality or frozen on the steppes of the critical establishment.

Pillin is no drop-out, no disaffiliate. He is utterly engaged and deeply involved with his world, but it is never quite the same after he touches it:

"May smoke rise from every  
chimney  
in the early frost of dawn  
and no man stray far with-  
out brandy  
and all infants be cradled  
and all furred and winged  
beings  
be caved and nested . . ."

In such moving poems as "In a Dream I Spoke," "Miserere," and "The Terrified Meadows" (magnificent and haunting), Pillin speaks of his Jewish heritage, his sense of loss and outrage at Nazi atrocities, his love of his childhood land and people. He is capable of tender whimsicality, as in "Canzone for My Grandma," and of incisive wit, as in "Prologue to a Reading"—adding evidence that he is a major poet whose recognition too long has been deferred.

Of John Beecher, William Carlos Williams remarked: "This is a man who speaks for the conscience of the people." According to Moscow's "Literaturnaya Gazeta," "John Beecher is a symbol of that spirit in American literature that will not be silenced. He is of that breed of democratic poets whom Whitman prophesied for the U.S." Although the democratic spirit is not always welcomed closer to home by the Soviet literary hierarchy, this characterization of Beecher remains valid.

Beecher, like Pillin, is unquestionably a great unsilenced, poetic champion of liberty. Now living in Birmingham, Ala., in John Birch and Ku Klux Klan country, he challenges the lynch law racists with such memorable poems as "In Egypt Land," with its matter-of-fact prose footnote: "The sheriff removed Cliff James from the hospital to the county jail on December 22. A mob gathered to lynch the prisoner on Christmas day. For protection he was taken to jail in Montgomery. Here Cliff James died on the stone floor of his cell, Dec. 27, 1932."

Beecher beats with such lines as:

"In a couple of days it was  
going to be Christmas  
yes Christmas  
and nobody belonging to  
Cliff James  
was going to get a thing  
not so much as an orange  
or a candy stick  
for the littlest boy."

Beecher is a veteran of civil rights struggles, including Selma, who practices in life what he preaches in poetry. He has declared war on everything that inhibits growth or thwarts human dignity. Like Jefferson, he has "sworn . . . eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." From the first poem, "In Egypt Land," to his barbed attack on academic hypocrisy in "A Humble Petition to the President of Harvard," he proves that poetry can be the rebel's strong weapon as well as the classicist's lyre.

## Adler tries harder—his opera's only number two

By Alan Velie

The New York Met, colossus of U.S. opera companies, is a cautious giant. General Manager Rudolf Bing will occasionally pull a surprise (he opened the Met's new home at Lincoln Center with the world premiere of Samuel Barber's "Antony and Cleopatra"), but his preference generally runs to established favorites—Wagner, Verdi, Puccini. Bing's famous pronouncement on new operas is: the Met is a museum where great masterpieces are hung, not a showcase for new works to be displayed.

Kurt Adler runs America's sec-

ond best opera, so he tries harder. In his 13 years as general manager of San Francisco Opera, Adler has established a reputation for remarkable daring and faultless taste in selecting his repertoire.

San Francisco's season is short (nine weeks compared to New York's 31), yet Adler was able to give the American premiere of two major works: Hector Berlioz' "Les Troiens" and Leos Janacek's "The Makropulos Case." Two of his other selections, Bellini's "I Puritani" and Montemazzini's "L'Amore dei Tre Re," are rarely done. Hence, four of the 13 op-

eras Adler presented this season were novelties.

Production of offbeat operas often causes formidable problems. "Les Troiens," really two operas, "The Trojans at Carthage" and "The Capture of Troy," is more than five hours long. Adler cut the work to 2½ hours.

If attendance is any standard for judgment, the production was successful: the first performance played to a moderate crowd; the second night the house was almost full and the last night was standing room only. An opera usually builds a following slowly;

a sellout for a comparatively unknown opera is a remarkable tribute to the production.

**THE SUCCESS** of the first three experiments was gratifying to Adler, but the premiere of "The Makropulos Case" was the opera event of the year in San Francisco. The peculiar nature of the work presents special difficulties. It is the story of a 300-year-old beauty whose father gave her an elixir in the 17th century that preserves her devastating good looks until the 20th. The role is a marvelous vehicle for the lead soprano, but it is very demanding.

There are no arias in the opera, no lyrical outbursts. Dialogue is sung to music which approximates the rhythm of speech. The leading role demands a singing actress. Marie Collier drew raves in the British premiere by Sadler Wells two years ago. When Adler found he could get her to San Francisco, he scheduled the opera.

Leos Janacek, a Czech who wrote in the Bohemian tradition of Smetana and Dvorak, composed "The Makropulos Case" in 1925. He adapted the libretto from a play by his countryman Karel Capek.

Janacek's score is quite imaginative. He uses the orchestra skillfully to provide a rich background of melody for the chanted speeches. The orchestral accompaniment keeps the work from sounding sterile or barren, but one misses the great release of emotional energy that accompanies an aria in Verdi or Wagner. There is an accretive frustrating effect in listening to short flights of song which never quite get airborne; by the third act, one feels a temptation to scream at Miss Collier, "For God's sake, woman, let yourself go!"

But arias or no, the opera was a dazzling success; Miss Collier and company (Gregory Dempsey, Chester Ludgin, and Leonard Lishner) were superb both as actors and singers.

Experimenting with operatic novelties is chancy business; but if Adler can continue to put on productions like "Les Troiens" and "The Makropulos Case," we can only hope that he keeps on gambling.

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# 'The time has come for critical re-evaluation of isolationists'

Continued from Page 7—

gating loans in Latin America, Johnson concluded that American money was being used to "maintain dictators in power" and that it was "party to the suppression of every natural right of citizens of South American Republics."

Borah fought the economic interest groups who demanded vigorous American intervention against the Mexican revolution and supported Ambassador Dwight Morrow's ultimately successful attempts to negotiate interim settlements of the oil and other property issues in Mexico. Rather than interpreting these policies as indifference to international concerns a more realistic appraisal might be to view them as attempts to understand, accept and accommodate to social change, even when it took revolutionary form. "Anti-imperialism" might be a more apt description than "isolationism."

Another aspect of the "isolationist" tradition worth re-examining is the much-maligned Nye Committee's obsession with a "devil theory of war," an unsuccessful attempt to blame the Merchants of Death for America's entry into WW I.

The committee's almost forgotten final report warned of the dangerous interlocking directorate of industry, military and government emergent in 1917-18.

SUGGESTING A MORE tolerant view of isolationists is not

to deny their inconsistency and persistent myopia. Sen. Johnson stubbornly resisted attempts to bring the U. S. into the World Court. There was anti-British bias underlying the isolationists' opposition to imperialism. Most isolationists minimized the horrors of Fascism and their insistence that the worst crimes of the Hitler regime were comparable to abuses by the French in Morocco or the British in India defied available evidence. Yet Professor Jonas well documents the fact that no major isolationist leaders had Fascist sympathies. For example, Sen. Nye vainly supported arms aid to the Loyalist government in Spain. One might question, albeit with less confidence, the isolationists' suspicions that the international organizations of their day were instruments of the Great Powers to freeze the status quo.

The most telling criticism of the isolationists is that they were out of touch with their times. The neutrality legislation of the '30s was of no relevance in the world of the '30s when aggressive forces of Fascism threatened Europe and Asia. Given the clear moral choices of 1940 and 1941, the amoral interpretations of the isolationists lost public support when the United States could embark on a righteous moral crusade secure in the conviction our objectives were pure.

Here is the irony. Interpreting the world of the 1960s in the

same categorical moral terms of WW II may be putting our generation out of touch with our times just as surely as the perspective of 1917 distorted isolationist views of the '30s. How many of us can recall the idealism with which we greeted Dumbarton Oaks, the San Francisco Conference, the Act of Chapultepec as portents of a hopeful "postwar world"? By the same token, the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan seemed a part of the same right and moral concern that had guided our nation in extending Lend Lease to Britain in 1941. So was the Korean War—so was the Berlin airlift—so was Suez—so was Guatemala—but at some point the analogy misses. The moral choices cease to be clear.

In our enthusiasm for "internationalism" as defined by the World War II experience, isolationists have been stereotyped as blind obstructionists and the considered warnings of Borah and Johnson 40 years ago that "international involvement" can mean imperialism or protection of a status quo (in Siberia or Vietnam) have been forgotten. Indeed, the isolationists made a serious mistake—that of not apprehending that their age posed problems that were not amenable to the dogmas of an era past—and, mortals that we be, we profit neither by their sound judgments nor by their errors.

## THE CROW'S NEST



The best news we have had in the last week or so is that — on good authority from Sacramento — the proposed repainting of the Golden Gate Bridge in red, white and blue is to be held off until at least April, 1967, to give time for public hearings on the project.

Which reminds us: Why (as a correspondent asks) all this fuss over "Tide Lands" (his spelling)? His argument is that there is no real — that is, real-estate — value in acres and acres of shallow salt water, whose only function is to breed mosquitos and to induce people to throw away old auto frames and pots and pans. Why not cut down some of the useless hills and fill in part of the bay, or indeed all of it? Turn useless shallow water into salable real estate? Thanks to Pan-Am, Pan-Agra, and Pellagra, "seaports" are now uneconomic, anyway. He goes on into an elaborate calculation of the taxable values of the Bay if turned into

Desirable Residential Areas, in 35 x 150 foot lots.

He concludes by pointing out that the goal of the Great Society, as he sees it, is to bring about a New Heaven and a New Earth; and if this is taken literally, we must note the prophecy in Revelations 21:1 — that "there was no more sea." Even a government/business coalition can hardly hope to fill in the oceans in one or two or three more administrations; but San Francisco Bay and New York Harbor could be a good start.

New York Harbor might offer problems; the nearest surplus hills (or mountains) are at least 70 miles away; but San Francisco and Rio de Janeiro have a surplus of non-real-estate, and therefore non-taxable, hills. "I will lift up mine eyes to the hills," as the man said, "whence cometh my landfill."

Considerably amused by a re-

by W. G. Gaffney

cent issue of a periodical that calls itself, rather grandiosely, The New York Review of Books. There was a learned review — from him, how could it be anything but learned? — by one Dwight Macdonald, who seems at one time to have been a critic, of a satirical work called "MacBird," by a sometime resident of Berkeley. These old eyes (to borrow a phrase which Alex Woolcott in Heaven no longer needs) caught an oddity. To be certain, we flipped backward and forward among the pages. Every other book reviewed had all the usual data in the headnote: number of pages, publisher, and price. "MacBird" had only the name of the author. No publisher, no price.

Query: Did the NY Review decide that it was better not to tell people where to get this subversive work? Or did Macdonald, who has in his time moved through many spectra, make the decision? — Or of course, one could blame the printer for leaving out a line; but that amounts to weaseling. "I was misquoted," indignantly said Mr. Goldwater/Nixon / Reagan / Brown / Johnson / Rusk / Kenyatta, etc.

Grimmest cartoon in some time (some of you must have seen it): a jailer opening the door of Jack Ruby's cell and saying, "They've granted you a change of venue and a new trial, Mr. Ruby; come along; the television men are all set up in the corridor."

Just a tucked-in reminder: This is really intended as a contributors' column. Don't telephone (the basic motto of this columnist is "If it's for me, I'm not here" — which happens, 19 days out of 20, to be true anyway); but WRITE. Just address "Crow's Nest": if you have the stuff to make you famous, we'll give you a chance to be famous. Or, if, more modestly, you just want to air a good quip, we'll give you that chance, too. We may have remarked before that Dot Parker and Sam. Hoffenstein got a bit of their original fame

## WHAT'S HAPPENING

### theater

**YOU CAN'T TAKE IT WITH YOU.** Interplayers, 737 Beach, S.F. Fri., Sat. 8:30. Moss Hart's chestnut reroasted, dipped in camp-flavored sauce.

**THE WIZARD OF OZ.** Circle Star Junior Theater, Bayshore at Whipple, San Carlos. Dec. 22, 23, 28, 30, 31 at 11 a.m.; Dec. 20, 25, 28, 29 at 2:30. Kansas girl leaves home to seek big time in Emerald City.

**THE COMMITTEE.** 622 Broadway, S.F. Two shows nightly, 9 and 11. Satirical skits, bawdy and irreverent; somewhat top-heavy with political stuff.

**ILLEGITIMATE THEATER.** The Tangent, 117 University Ave., Palo Alto. Fri. & Sat., 9 and 10:30. Improvisational skits; light-hearted lasciviency.

### dance

**NUTCRACKER.** San Francisco Ballet, Opera House. Dec. 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 at 2:30. Dec. 24 at 11 a.m. Sugar Plum Fairy leads cast of hundreds in Christmas spectacular.

### jazz

**LUTHER'S OFF PLAZA.** 1751 Fulton. Terrell Prude, the "pot of the organ." Thurs. thru Mon. 9:30.

**BOTH/AND.** 350 Divisadero. African songstress Letta Mbulu nightly except Mon. 9:30.

**THE FOURTH DIMENSION.** 1335 Grant Ave. New nightclub and coffee house features Berkeley folk singer Stan Wilson nightly.

**PAOLI'S OLD LIBRARY.** 11th and Clement. The Straight Jackets and Pat La Rocca. Evenings at 9.

### drink

**HARRINGTON'S,** 245 Front. Politics argued, chess played. liquor consumed, all at reasonable rates.

**DUNCAN MAC ANDREW,** Merchant Tailor and Importer. 623 Clay. Free martinis and brilliant chatter every Wednesday at four courtesy of Don and Thisbe Blake. Bring your own olive.

### art

Oil and acrylic drawings by Brenda Siegel. Peninsula Gallery, Peninsula School, Menlo Park. Tues. thru Fri. 12:3; Sat. 1-5, until January 10. Miss Siegel transmutes German impressionism into an intensely personal neo-realistic idiom.

Sculpture by Jeremy Anderson. San Francisco Museum of Art, McAllister at Van Ness. Thru Dec. 31. Witty, surrealistic works in enameled wood.

Saul Bass, Paul Rand et al. M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, Golden Gate Park. Thru Jan. 29. Exhibit of graphic arts of the last 50 years; prints, assemblages, collages.

from F.P.A. in the New York World; the Crow's Nest may not be all that famous itself yet—but it will be, it will be!

A Thought for Today (paraphrased from Voltaire): "If H. L. Hunt did not exist, we should have to invent him."

We were interested by the pre-nod-raid alibi for the non-raid on the local professors who announced their intention of reading aloud from a strengst verboten, and indeed elsewhere confiscated, book. Said the chief (and we quote as accurately as our best printed sources allow): "Obviously, only those who want to hear it, those who choose to listen, will be there—while those who won't want to attend will simply leave."

That wise utterance deserves rather more attention that it has, to our knowledge, so far had. Because, if voluntary attendance at a poetry reading absolves the aloud-readers of an "immoral" work, how come the same principle does not apply to bookstores? If we understand the Free Enterprise System correctly, nobody ain't forced to buy nothing he don't want, see?

If a customer is offended by the presence of "The \*\*\*\* Book," he can turn his back on it and pay his money and walk out with his copy of "The Robe"; if he is offended by "C\*\*\*\*," why, O.K., he buys his copy of "The Prophet" and departs in peace. Why raid the bookstore and cart off the books (as one source informed us, without even paying for them)?

## DINING OUT CHEAPLY

By Bob Wanderer

The Barbary, at 490 Pacific near Montgomery, is a hard restaurant to classify. Not quite Italian, it's not quite American; about the only classification that fits is "terrific" or memorable.

The Barbary offers only six entrees. The most popular is a huge steak at \$4.50. But while

the steaks are unusually large and unusually good, the three chicken dishes at \$4 get my largest accolade. Each consists of one whole squab chicken, prepared in a striking way. My favorite is the oven-roasted chicken with a fantastic stuffing, including spinach and Italian sausage.

These are served with vegetable, potato and a good-size salad.

Hours: 5 to 10:30 p.m., Mon. Thurs. and till 11:30 on Friday and Saturday. Also open for lunch on weekdays. Bar.

### SCRAMBLE—the Guardian word game

See how many words of four letters or more you can make from the letters in the circle. Each word MUST contain the letter in the center of the circle and each letter must be used only once. Your list should contain at least one ten-letter word. You cannot use plurals, foreign words and proper names.

Forty-two words are good, 49 very good, 52 excellent.



Solution in next issue of the Guardian.



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will mold the musical adult of tomorrow.**

## **So much for so little**

For approximately \$10.00 a month, *your* child can gain a worthwhile musical foundation that is priceless. You enroll your child prior to his 4th birthday, so that he—or she—can be scheduled for the first class beginning soon afterward. One of the Yamaha teachers will be happy to discuss enrollment procedure, or any other details about the course. Just ask. All Yamaha teachers are carefully selected, and given special seminar training to teach the YAMAHA MUSIC COURSE. They realize you are giving them a special assignment to prepare your child for the creation and enjoyment of music for a whole lifetime.

Nearly \$1,000,000 was invested during 14 years in research and testing to make this program highly effective. More than 600,000 boys and girls in Japan participated in the course and are now music enthusiasts. 250,000 Japanese children presently are enrolled. Recently, the program was introduced in America, where American children also can enroll in this unique course to learn, understand, and enjoy music. The enrollment increases with every passing week.

### **MAIL THIS COUPON AND CHECK THE INFORMATION DESIRED**

- ☐ Would like literature describing the Yamaha school.
- ☐ Would like to know the location of school in my area.
- ☐ Would like to see the school in action (give telephone number).
- ☐ Would like Yamaha teacher to call me.
- ☐ Other.....

**YAMAHA INTERNATIONAL CORP.**  
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